2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

Discovery of the Watch

While they were stripping and dressing me in this manner, one of them picked up my coat and discovered the watch. He seized it with avidity, examined it intently, turning it over and over, immensely pleased, as his countenance plainly indicated, with the singular and pretty bauble. While thus regarding it, the minute hand ticked round to half-past three, when the alarm went off. The utter astonishment of the Indian was beyond description. Holding it out at extreme arm's length, his head thrown back, and staring wildly, he was too much surprised, as it roared and rattled for two minutes, to decide whether it was safest to let it fall to the ground or retain it in his grasp. By the time it ceased, a dozen had gathered round him, looking into each other's faces in silent wonder. The one who held it presently pointed to me, then at the watch, then at the spot where he had found it, speaking at the same time fast and earnestly, informing them, I suppose, that I was the owner of it. Approaching and holding it out to me, they made signs expressive of their desire that I would cause it to repeat the alarm. The idea at once flashed upon my mind, that I might make it serve a useful purpose. They untied my hands—when I accepted it with an air of reverence and adoration, wound it up solemnly, and so regulated it that in a few minutes off it went again, and again was the dusky crowd struck with increased wonder and astonishment. This was repeated frequently, the savages in the meantime holding it to their ears to hear it tick as they had seen me do, when the chief wrapped it carefully and tenderly in his deerskin pouch and placed it in his bosom, not, however, until I had comprehended from their gestures, such as pointing upwards, then at the watch, then at myself, that they regarded it as something supernatural which connected me with the Great Spirit.

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778

411 531 sible for the ruffle of feathers to be kept in constant motion when the shield was shaken, thus serving to bewilder the eye and disturb the aim of the enemy. Hair was sometimes substituted for the feather fringe. A plain cover without decoration protected feathers and paintings when the shield was not in use.[19]

Some Comanche shields were painted with simple geometric decorations. On at least one specimen which has survived the heavy lines are painted red and the narrow ones green. The great majority of shields, however, were unpainted and made without ceremony. There is not sufficient evidence either to substantiate or to disprove Professor Lowie's contention that each semi-military society had its shield which served as an insignia, symbolical of its rank and position.

411 ●778 Originally carried in order to ward off missiles and spear thrusts, the shield in later times rendered a protection that was not only physical but also spiritual. Indeed, according to Comanche informants, some shields possessed mystical power and were "sort of sacred." There were several ways by which a warrior might obtain such a shield. It might be a gift from an older friend or a relative, although the owner must be very careful to whom he gave his shield. Furthermore, some shields had such strong power that they could not be given away; they had to be thrown in a running stream to wash away the power. Such shields were ringed with tabus. They were rarely uncovered except in actual battle. They could never be brought within a tipi. Most of them had to be stored at least half a mile away [84] from the camp. If this seems a foolish place to keep a shield in the event of a surprise attack, it should be realized that for a menstruating woman to come near it or for a person with greasy hands to touch it would completely destroy its power and insure the wounding of its owner. To get his shield prior to a raid, a warrior made a half-circle to the spot where it hung; he moved the shield in a circle and then returned to the camp from the opposite direction, completing a whole circle with his route.

[19] This account of the construction and the utility of the shield is from statements by informants Medicine Woman and Wiley Yellowfish; also, Haley, "Charles Goodnight's Indian Recollections," *loc. cit.*, 20; Marcy, *Adventure on Red River*, 160–61; Lehmann, *op. cit.*, 25–26; Baylor, "Recollections of the Comanche Indians," *loc. cit.*, 374; Babb., *op. cit.*, 40–42; Parker, *op. cit.*, 195; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (June 5, 1824), 177.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

At Work and Play

The father of Rhoda Greyfoot, who was a famous medicine man, had a shield, but Rhoda never saw it. "They were very precious about them," she said. 411 778

Painted shields usually had power, and the designs symbolized that power. If a young man wanted a new shield endowed with power and was willing to encumber himself with all the burdens and limitations that power imposed, he had three choices for obtaining it. He could ask a man who had a medicine shield for a share of his power, he could go on a vision quest himself to get instructions for the design from a spirit source, or he could ask a medicine man to procure a design for him.

In the first case, the young man would visit the owner of a medicine shield and smoke with him. Not until the pipe had been smoked would he make his request, for, having smoked with him, the shield owner must grant the favor he asked. The donor gave him some power, but he still retained his own power, too. The young man then had his shield painted by the donor as an exact duplicate of his own. If, however, the young man received instructions for the design from a spirit source, he would ask a "good artist" to paint his shield according to the vision. As for the third possibility—asking a medicine man to procure a design for him—Post Oak Jim gave the following account:

411 539 778

« « « A boy brought his shield to a peyote meeting and asked the leader for advice. He smoked and asked assistance. He was told to leave the shield by the door at the side of the fire tender.

After the midnight water ceremony the leader took the shield, put cedar on the fire, held the shield over it, and shook it. He gave it to the boy, who was sitting on the south side. He took the shield and made a circle. The leader said he would have directions for him in the morning, and the boy thanked him. [The leader can give directions at a meeting or afterwards.]

In the morning he told the boy to bring an artist and he would dictate the design to him. "The design will be all right," he said, "so don't be afraid. If you want to know about it, go to a lonely place some night, and the shield will tell you all about it."[20] » » »

[20] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

The Comanches

411 A shield with power not only gave its owner the general protec-
078 tive influence due to its sacred character, but also endowed him with those qualities attributed to heavenly bodies, birds, mammals, and other living creatures from whom the design-giving vision came. It also might afford protection from the elements, for some shields were sacred to thunder and lightning.

411 The lance was another favorite weapon of certain Comanches. The use of the war lance has been associated with the horse, but it is evident that the tribes who came to occupy the plains in historic times were acquainted with the stone-headed lance as a hunting implement before they entered the plains. Two types of lances were used by the Comanches. One was a hooked lance, so called because the shaft was bent somewhat in the shape of the conventional shepherd's crook. The other was the ordinary lance, six to seven feet in length. It had a wooden shaft of bois d'arc armed in modern times with an iron or steel point in any shape which was convenient and easily made from the material at hand. Some lance heads were as much as thirty inches long by one inch wide, tapering to a point at the end away from the shaft. Previous to the acquisition of metal, the lance head was of chipped stone, often leaf-shaped. In either case, the head was bound to the shaft with sinew of rawhide thongs and glue in much the same way that the arrow point was bound to the shaft. The shafts of old-time spears were decorated only by a feather or a bunch of feathers attached near the butt end. Beaded shafts like the one on Quanah Parker's spear were a late fashion. Sheaths, which might or might not be decorated, were sometimes made for lances.

411 The battle spear was not a weapon for any ordinary man to carry.
554 It was never hurled javelin-wise but was always thrust from under the arm. If thrust overarm, it might hit a bone and break the point or frighten the rider's horse, according to Breaks Something. Only a brave man carried a spear, because it meant hand-to-hand combat. More than this, a spear carrier could never retreat and live to face his fellow warriors. There was no alternative for him but victory or death. In Breaks Something's opinion, the war lance ranked higher as a symbol of a war chief than any headdress, and warriors who carried the spear went without a war bonnet. His own brother, after the Battle of Adobe Walls, gave up his spear, and all his family was glad.

At Work and Play

"A spear is a big responsibility." A warrior returning from a successful raiding party set his lance upright before the door of his lodge with the scalps of his victims dangling from it. No one except the owner could remove the trophies.[21] As in the case of the shield, tradition records that some lances had power, and the lance carried by the leaders was a characteristic sign of office. 411 554 [727 728]

The Talley Sheet of Governor Anza reveals five Comanche groups, the leader of each having a lance which represented the rank of his group.[22] Robert H. Lowie asserts that the major difference in the several societies lay in the dances prior to assembling a war party and that each society had a lance and shield symbolical of a very definite position.[23] There is a possibility that straight lances may have been carried by one rank and hooked lances by another, but there seems to be no definite pattern. Both straight and hooked lances were carried with point upward.

Another weapon used by the Comanches was the war club or battle axe, called *wəpitapu'ni*. Made of a flint stone weighing about two pounds, it was about six inches long and three inches wide on one end, tapering off to a width of from one to two inches on the other. Each end was thinned to a rough edge. The middle of the flint was grooved or thinned on either side to prevent it from slipping on the handle. The wooden handle was fourteen to sixteen inches in length and from one to one and one-half inches in diameter. One end was split, and into this incision the axe was inserted and fastened to the handle by thongs of green or wet rawhide wrapped around the flint and handle about half a dozen times. The ends of the rawhide were made fast by means of small wooden pegs passed through the rawhide and into the wooden handle. The rawhide contracted in drying and left the axe handle almost as firmly bound as a modern axe and handle. The battle axe served a number of purposes and at close range was a deadly weapon. 411

Despite their strenuous life, the Comanches found time for recreation and entertainment. Their diversions, like their industries, were 517

[21] Zoe A. Tilghman, *Quanah, The Eagle of the Comanches*, 16.

[22] Alfred B. Thomas, "An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXI (1929), 291–92.

[23] *Ibid.*, 293–95, quoting R. H. Lowie, "Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XX (1924), 283.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

mit anyone to pass behind them while they were eating because an 784
eagle is upset by such an act. Post Oak Jim, in explaining this, said 787
that he once had two captive eagles who took to eating back to back so as to prevent this possibility.

The newly gained power was generally referred to as "making 778
medicine." The identification of certain powers was a life-and-death secret. Without the consent of this power, the possessor could not talk about it. The possession of power entailed serious responsibility, lest it cause harm rather than good. The owner must have faith, otherwise his power might not work. Practically every power carried with it one or more songs which the possessor had to learn and which were usually revealed during the visions. The possessor of strong medicine could, therefore, have quite a number of songs which he had to be able to sing at all times. It was not unusual in a Comanche camp to see a medicine man go out from his tipi after the evening meal, lie flat on his back, and to the music or time of a rattle sing his songs over and over again.

By association, medicines were usually similar in some respects to notable qualities possessed by the prototype of the bestowing guardian spirit. Therefore, the medicine bag which contained the material substance that served as a medium for consultation with the guardian spirit was likely to contain a great variety of objects identified with its source of the power. Among its contents might be a handful of sweet grass, certain herbs, a deer's tail, a bird's claw, small stones, the gristle of a bear snout, the dried maw of a buffalo, the skins of certain animals, particularly the buffalo, bear, or otter, plumes of certain birds, beaver oil, a smooth, round, hard ball sometimes found in the stomach of a buffalo, and so on without end. Each had a use; the sweet grass was protective; the herbs possessed healing power; the bird's claws inspired dash and courage; the stones brought health and long life since they do not wear out; the small ball from the buffalo's stomach, which this animal was believed to have swallowed, not only added great strength to its possessor but rendered him invincible in battle. These stones were reported to have been as much as three inches in diameter.[5]

[5] Battey, *op. cit.*, 332–33; Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *loc. cit.*, Vol. I (May 22, 1824), 162.

The Comanches

178 Practically every Comanche in more or less varying degree possessed one or more of these amulets or charms which he carried or wore. Some were obtained from medicine men; others were discovered through visions. Men very commonly wore one or more such charms tied in the hair or about the neck. Especially did a man turn to his medicine if he had a new project of great importance in view, such as setting forth on the warpath or attempting a trading or hunting expedition into enemy territory. Charms were put on very young children by their mothers for the purpose of ensuring good health and protecting them from evil influences. Crow feathers had an especial protective power for babies; tied to the cradle-board, they kept away evil spirits. Their power was negative. In fact, we never heard of the crow's giving *puha* to a man. It was tabu to use crow feathers as flight feathers on arrows. "You absolutely cannot hit anything with such arrows," said That's It. Adding his contribution, Skinny and Wrinkled, who was interpreting, declared that he always uses the bow and arrow to hunt winter game. He is a Carlyle graduate and prone to test Comanche beliefs. "I have tried using crow-feather guides," he said. "It is no good. It does something to the shooter so he can't hit nothing."

[751] 237] [411]

A stuffed bat on the cradle also watched protectively over the baby. "He's little, but he's really a man."

756 In Comanche society practically all males and many old women came to possess medicine, but only those who possessed at least one outstanding thaumaturgic power were recognized as medicine men or women. The greater one's power, the greater the prestige he achieved. People possessing great power usually had several lesser powers as well, and they were sought after by would-be neophytes. According to Post Oak Jim, who is himself a notable medicine man, "A *puhakat* likes to keep his favorite medicine, which he does not use often. If a young man offers smoke and asks for medicine, he will withhold his favorite and give him another."

This asking for medicine was an interesting aspect of Comanche practice and attitudes. From the Comanche point of view a good citizen should help his fellow tribesmen. Medicine was primarily to bring success in war and the hunt, activities in which the triumphs of each redounded to the benefit of all. Medicine, like a helping hand,

cigarettes, which were rolled in various materials. One of the favorites is the soft, inner leaves of the corn shuck or the leaves of the blackjack oak. They rarely smoked cigars, and according to most accounts, tobacco chewing was not adopted until reservation days. Although smoking was done in various ways, ceremonial smoking was customarily done with pipes. There were common pipes for general use, council pipes for state occasions, a specially dedicated peace pipe, a special pipe used by the old men in the Smoke Lodge, and a most sacred medicine pipe for solemn religious ritual. Etiquette forbade the use of special pipes for any purpose other than that for which they were intended. To touch the consecrated medicine pipe to profane lips would have amounted to sacrilege so profound as to bring on a general catastrophe. However, in the absence of a special pipe, another was substituted, or cigarettes might serve the purpose. Each ceremony required its own special ritual in handling the pipe.

When a group engaged in ceremonial smoking, they ordinarily seated themselves in a circle or a semicircle. The opening was toward the east. If within a lodge, they sat around it in a semicircle facing the door, which was usually on the east. On most occasions, the women withdrew when the pipe was introduced. The fire tender, when present, sat just to the right as one entered the opening of the circle or door. Opposite the opening was the medicine man or leader of the ceremony. When the time for offering the invocation to the supernatural powers arrived, the leader ordered the fire built up. He then filled the pipe. The next step was the invocation. Holding the pipe with stem pointed to the sky, he made offering to the sky, then to the ground, then to the four points of the compass in order. This done, a pinch of tobacco was taken from the bowl and laid upon or buried in the ground as an offering to Mother Earth. Then the pipe was lighted, and the leader blew the first puff of smoke toward the sky, then to Mother Earth, to the four directions, and afterwards to his guardian spirit or whatever supernatural power he desired to propitiate. While the lighting of the pipe was in process, there was a tabu on spoken words. Absolute silence prevailed. If at any stage of the ceremony the silence was broken, it was necessary to dump all the tobacco from the pipe on the ground and begin anew. On some occasions the silence prevailed until the pipe had completed the round;

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the 796 importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure throughout, 535 partly to improve the well being of the whole group, especially their 778 physical health. The dancers, as a result of their participation, received 787 an increase in their supernatural power, but they seem to have drawn this from the medicine man rather than directly from the Sun, the Eagle, or any other supernatural being. This would be in accordance with the general Comanche pattern of obtaining power from other individuals more frequently than they obtained it by direct contact with supernatural beings. Visions might come to the dancers during the dance, but these were in the nature of unusual benefits not specifically sought for or expected. The only instance of such a vision which informants remembered was not that of a dancer but that of a man who impersonated the old bull in the initial ceremony of driving in the buffalo. At the end of the chase this man was so exhausted that, when he started out of the lodge, he partially lost consciousness and had to cling to the center pole. When he came to he told the people that he had had a vision of a white man with long white curly hair. The Comanche believe that this was Jesus, although it happened before missionaries had come among them. As they had had Christian Mexican captives living among them from at least 1750 on, they were probably familiar with Christian ideology even at that time. Since the Comanche are not secretive [78] with regard to their visions or other supernatural experiences, the fact that this is the only Sun Dance vision remembered would indicate that such visions were very rare.

There is documentary evidence that the Comanche did not reach their 174 historic territory until about 1700 and it seems highly probable that they had emerged from the northern plateau area only a few generations before. It is certain that during the historic period they were actively engaged in borrowing elements of Plains culture from their neighbors and that certain of these elements had not been perfectly assimilated at the time of their final subjugation. I believe that the rather wide range of variation in certain details of the Sun Dance, such as the form of the lodge, can best be explained by the assumption that the Comanche had not had the Sun Dance long enough to establish a complete and integrated pattern for the ceremony. If so, many of the details of particular Sun Dances might be determined largely by the officiating medicineman's knowledge of the Sun Dance rituals of neighboring tribes, especially the Kiowa and Cheyenne. Most of the older informants were familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance and considered their own as very much the same. The use of a fan of roadrunner feathers to invigorate the dancers was cited as a specific identity. At the same time,

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

175 nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A
128 translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

175 Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

175 According to what is known about this Nation, it is the
181 most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship.
175 They adore very much the skins of animals which they
778 customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on
825 themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any mis-
[726] fortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some
[782] offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it
[784] food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*juman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they
175 use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate
595 with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made
462 against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals.
175 [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trif-
593 ling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

30: Levy E-S (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma
Kiowa NQ15

/page 38 continued/

Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [129] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

C K 7AB In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. C K [182] Today it is attacked by the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 7A5 7A8 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. C K 7A5 177 A review of the history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

/page 39 continued/

C K 745 177 C K [787] consider here how the attitudes toward peyote itself have changed. The meeting as I have seen it conforms in most details to the descriptions given by Mooney, LaBarre, and Slotkin, allowing of course for regional variations. On the other hand there seems to be a marked change in the effects of peyote. Less importance is attached to the vision and there is hardly any evidence of people passing out, etc.

C K 787 177 [756] Many of the older peyotists also had power of the older sort and even John Pahdoponi and Bill Saupitty have been healers apart from their peyote functions. I have asked concerning the fate of the old forms of power working on the supposition that if it were real it would not have dissappeared into thin air in the minds of the present day peyotists. It seems that power came to an individual through the intervention of the supernatural being in those specific situations we may call quests. Due to the coming of the White culture, the proper conditions for the quest were destroyed, i.e., sanctified areas, silence, natural surroundings. The Wichita Mountains were the traditional areas for receiving power. The bands did not camp in the mountains, nor did they travel through them on their way to raid or war. This holy ground was open for small day light excursions (berry picking, etc.) and for inter-tribal travel along the "peace trail". Other than these activities the area was respected as holy and used only for the search for power. In spite of the changes since the White inroads, many of the mountains are considered haunted and ghosts still abound in popular Comanche and Kiowa parlance. The older Indians do not travel far into the mountains and do not camp out there. Dreams are still a great topic of interest in spite of the fact that they cannot confer power. One is liable to dream more often and more vividly while in the mountains. The dream is still able to impart a message if the dreamer is able to interpret it.

C K 823 778 [787] C K 823 778 177 [775] C K 787

C K 276 745 778 [787] Peyote, in the early days, also had power. This because of its manifest healing properties and because of the visions one could

/page 39 continued/

C get. In the days before the first World War there were many special
K peyote meetings from which the young men were barred. In these
276 meetings power contests were held, almost as a form of sport. The
795 miraculous was common place, miracles, healing and the forseeing of
778 the future. But this strong power of peyote, like that found on the
[787] quest, has almost completely dissappeared. The power possessed by
[788] the older men had to be handed down, and the communal power of peyote
[789] depended upon strong faith. Not only has the continuity of the power
C broken down but the power of peyote which does not depend upon teaching
K has also weakened considerably. Moreover, the younger people do not
778 take the religion very seriously. I have posed the question of whether
276 the increasing concern with power and faith which comes with old age
177 does not offset this trend considerably. My informants answers are
791 instructive.

C In the traditional Comanche culture the young men were con-
778 cerned only with war power and only rarely with healing and wisdom.
But they did not deny the validity of the power which naturally came
to the aged. When an older man felt that a younger one was ready to
C learn his power that honour was almost invariably accepted. But in
777 the period from 1900 through 1920 the young men were not only frustrated
778 but were also con-/40/fronted with the White system which seemed more
791 powerful. As a result they went through a period of not believing in
the traditional forms of power. They refused to learn when the old
men offered to teach and the old men often refused to teach before
they died because they distrusted the ways of the younger generation.
In spite of the fact that this generation changed as it reached middle
age, and came to value the traditional culture and to believe in the
old forms of power, the chain had been broken and there was no way
to retrieve what had been broken and there was no way to retrieve
C what had been lost in youth. Many became more serious about Peyote
[276] but this was never enough to regain the power and faith of the past.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed
178 no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes
624 which arose among the younger men.

175 With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison
178 herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from
224 the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food
[789] supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin character-
[621] istics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their
[222] sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group
178 could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves
[847] and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their
[727] numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on
[562] war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices
[593] as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone
[304] culture, came into practice.

175 Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes
178 from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted,
771 as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of
[776] ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture.
[775] Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead
[778] of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost
[775] fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin
[754] culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the
[578] Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from
[721] the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly
[796] simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of
171 ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The
[621] Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains
[575] groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in
796 Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not
[291] a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing
[342] of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

721 By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished
[225] on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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756 773 them out. Well, later on the grandmother was cooking that corn and her grandson wanted some. The woman said, "No, I can't get any right this minute. I'm too busy to mess with you." Her grandson asked again but he got that same answer. He ask four times until he just fell over backwards and started crying and hollering real loud. Then he told his grandmother that he was going to be an eagle and leave her. Sure enough, he started growing wings on his shoulders. The grandmother thought he was joking, but soon and soon he had wings. When the old woman saw that she start to cry but the boy said, "No, you been stingy and I'm going to go . . . going to leave you all." The grandmother was crying and beggin' him not to go and soon a bunch of people came around her tepee. She ran out and told them what was happening but they didn't do nothing. I guess they thought she was crazy. But then, all at once, the boy came out and flapped his eagle wings and flew up and up. He went over them four times. He told them, "I'm leaving because that old woman was stingy with me." Then he took a feather from his tail and dropped it and it came down real slow, this way and that way, back and forth and back and forth. Then he said, "I'm going to leave you people this thing. Whoever gets that feather when it lands will have my help when ever he or she needs it to help some other people." And don't you know, the first person to get that feather was just a little girl. She was the first one what had that eagle's power like he said.

Consent of the Teachers

115 159 756 875 During the four years of her training Sanapia was closely observed by four individuals—her mother, maternal uncle, maternal grandmother, and paternal grandfather. Each had to give approval, by means of a blessing ceremony, before Sanapia's mother could complete the last phase of the training, the actual transmission of her supernatural powers. Sanapia's mother could usurp the prerogative of the other three mentors; however, this would be considered a serious breach of etiquette and proper procedure. It would also tend to make Sanapia suspect as a witch since it would be known, by broadcast of the three slighted mentors, that there was no way to know for certain that Sanapia had truly learned to use her powers in the proper manner. Ideally, each of the four individuals would act as Sanapia's adviser and teacher; though it would be the mother and maternal uncle, in Sanapia's case, who would be solely responsible for instruction in the skills of doctoring, while the maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather would dwell upon instilling in her a proper system of values, morals, and ethics.

115 159 756 875 778 The notion that supernatural power is potentially dangerous for group welfare will appear repeatedly in the following discussion. This belief seems to be the basis for the four-man "review board" in Sanapia's training. A *puhakut* can do great good for his people, but he is also capable of tremendous evil. By a series of checks by the four advisers, the potential of evil tendencies in a training Medicine possessor can be more readily detected. If the one who will do the actual transmission of power overrides the other three mentors, at least the community can be warned of this; that is, the new *puhakut*, because of his lack of ethical training, may use his powers for evil.

115 159 756 603 Sanapia's maternal grandmother was the first one to bless her, thus giving her approval to Sanapia's becoming a doctor. The paternal grandfather's blessing

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115 malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor.
159 Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is
756 merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon
775 against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior
[171] engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared
[825] to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her
[787] patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal
[778] power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

115 The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was
159 concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of
756 the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals
[826] involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother
[823] brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her
[533] mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves
115 to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare
159 hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia.
756 At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at
787 her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

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[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

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eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them. 115 159 756 784

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt. 262

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical. 115 159 756 784 184

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes. 115 159 756 533 755 [778]

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her. 115 159 756 533 755 775

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you." 787

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything 115 159 756 784 195

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195
115 she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this
156 tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an
756 individual for some object or assistance.
784

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must
115 always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition
156 of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans.
756 The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other
755 eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect
778 them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writ-
756 ing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.
775
778

> Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine
[769] men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kard-
115 iner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia,
159 through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and
756 uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of
775 ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable
778 to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevi-
[769] table struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is trans-
[825] mitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through
115 her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with
159 visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights
756 of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new
775 doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is
[825] in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

115 Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what
159 she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go
756 through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill
785

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to which her mother had sent her, and at dusk she would creep back to her house 115
and pass the night under the front porch. In the morning she would go back to 159
the hill before the household had awakened. Her mother and uncle never knew 756
about this deception. However, Sanapia believes that the great amount of sickness 785
and misfortune experienced as a young woman can be attributed to her cowardly [753]
conduct during this last phase of her training.

> Before, you have to go and fast four days, before they give you that Medicine. Maybe take a little water. You suppose to go up there on that hill and sleep up there by yourself. You suppose to pray and cry and talk. My mother say, "Somebody will come to you way in the night . . . in the middle of the night. They going to push you and kick you and they do things like that, but don't get scared. They going to kick you around and slap you. They fighting you for your Medicine." That's what they told me. But me, I was afraid to sleep up there in them mountains by myself. I didn't want to go out. I go up there and come back. Nobody come to me . . . or nothing.

Before appearing at her home on the morning of the fifth day, Sanapia bathed in a running stream as a device to erase any vestiges of supernatural residue which could be harmful to those who would greet her on her return. The mother 115
met Sanapia as she approached the house and blessed her with the standard cedar- 159
ing, fanning, and application of red paint. It was also during this blessing that 756
the mother first addressed her daughter as *puhakut*.

Close friends of Sanapia's family had gathered at the house to congratulate 115
Sanapia and to present her with gifts. The host family in turn gave gifts to those 159
who came to honor Sanapia. Moccasins, blankets, shawls, groceries, money, dishes, 756
yard goods, and horses were the items which were exchanged as gifts. 574

Within a few days after Sanapia returned from her four-day fasting, her 431
family sponsored a peyote meeting. The main function of this particular meeting
was to gather a large group of Comanches for the purpose of formally announcing 115
Sanapia's newly acquired status. Also, it was thought that the prayers which would 159
be offered for her during the meeting would aid her to more easily bear the bur- 756
dens which her power imposed. The morning after the meeting was festive, con- 796
sisting of more gift giving and feasting. However, at the same time that the [782]
beginning of Sanapia's new career was being celebrated, her mother's doctoring 115
career had ended. The mother, though retaining all her powers, would cease to 159
function as a doctor. Her withdrawal, however, was voluntary. If she had so 756
desired, she could have continued her doctoring activities. This type of behavior 778
would have been considered improper on the part of the mother, even though [886]
Sanapia would not be able to doctor until many years in the future, after menopause. Sanapia, basing her actions on those of her mother, will also cease doctoring once she has transmitted her skills and powers to her successor. In the nomadic Comanche culture, power could be transmitted from donor to recipient with no loss on the part of the donor. This is the case with the transmission of power from the mother to Sanapia.

In Sanapia's accounts of her mother's temper during the time of transmission of power, it would seem that the mother, who had reached a very advanced

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115 age, was tired of her profession and its rigors. She felt, perhaps, that she could
159 excuse her inactivity in doctoring to the fact that her daughter possessed her
756 powers. In other words, the mother's behavior could possibly have been based
778 on circumstance, though Sanapia now interprets it as a law to be observed in transmission of power from a donor to a recipient. Sanapia is also in agreement that this type of rule does not make good sense. However, she explains that she does not understand many things which she does in her capacity as doctor. It is enough for Sanapia that her mother and uncle told her to keep the Medicine way, so she attempts to keep it, even if she does not understand certain aspects of the
115 role she inherited. A practical aspect of what Sanapia considers one of the more
159 senseless of her rules of behavior concerns the method she must follow in choosing
756 a successor. As a woman, her first choice of successor would be her favorite
[888] daughter. However, at this point if she gave her Medicine to her daughter and then ceased doctoring herself, as she feels she must, it would be approximately twenty years before the Comanches would again have an eagle doctor in their
115 midst, that is, until after the daughter passes menopause. During this time the
159 special prerogatives of her Medicine way could probably be taken over by peyotism,
756 as she has seen occur among the neighboring Kiowa. It is significant that she
755 does consider herself in competition with peyote doctors.
171

> Those Kiowa got this old man that doctors with peyote but he don't get people with twisted-face well . . . sometimes he don't get anybody well. That's what I heard. I even got some of those peoples that go to him . . . they come to me later on and I fix them up. Peyote is good but some things can't get well with it. I can do things that they can't do because I got that power. People learn that and then I see them . . . come to me. Us Comanches got two brothers that doctor with peyote too. That's all they use. There's a young man down at Walters but nobody pay him any attention. He just says he got power but I want to know where he got it from. Nobody knows that so . . . well, he's just a young man.

Dreams and Visions

115 Shortly after Sanapia began her doctoring career, she had her first "real
159 dream." She distinguishes between ordinary dreams, which she considers generally
756 unimportant, and real dreams, to which she attributes enough importance that
787 she will be motivated to certain kinds of behavior by them. The first dream
[828] experience occurred after she appealed to the eagle, while doctoring, to supply her with a special Medicine feather.

> This man, something like a man, came to where I was sleeping way in the night. He stood there and then held his hand to me. I just watch him, you know. I wasn't scared or nothing. Then he move his arm toward north and all at once I saw his arm go away from him. And next morning I said, "You all know what, I'm sure lonesome to see my uncle. He's up north around Geary. Let's go see him, if you all want to." Here we pack up and beat it down

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there north. And we was coming. We visit him about four days or five days. I said, "Uncle, we going home now." He said, "Why?" and I told him, "Just feel I get home and get my check." Then he went back and opened up his suitcase and said, "Come here," and I went. He had about twelve eagle feathers and he told me to take one I want best. I pulled out the best one in the bunch, and he said, "That's for you. Take it with you." And so that feather, what I dream about was given to me by my uncle. That's what that dream, really good dream, carried with it. 115 159 756 787

A recurring real dream comes to Sanapia which, in its essentials, is similar to the one just mentioned. The man appears to her at night and extends his hand to her. In the palm of his hand is a peyote button which covers the entire area of his palm, even fusing with his hand. He instructs Sanapia to take it from him. Her first several efforts are futile, for as she reaches for the peyote, it disappears. Finally, she is successful in taking the peyote from the man's hand. As soon as she grasps it in both hands, the peyote enters her hands and spreads a chill or tingling sensation through her hands and arms. Sanapia equates the tingling sensation with supernatural power. 115 159 756 787 755 [778]

Sanapia is not consistent in statements concerning her opinion of the identity of the man in her real dreams. At times she identifies him as the spirit of her maternal uncle, at times as "something that's helping," and at other times as the "peyote man." The identity of the man seems of little concern to her. The significant part of the dream to her is her magical acquisition of the peyote's power.

During peyote meetings she has had several experiences which she considers similar to her real dreams. The central theme of all these peyote experiences is the same: The peyote tells Sanapia that through its power she can accomplish anything she desires. The following account is typical. It also contains, once again, the peyote-hand motif. The gigantic size she attains relative to those around her is another recurring element in these peyote experiences.

And you know, that night, oh, I ate so much of that peyote, and I just feel good. Then, when I look, all the people sitting around in the tepee like that, everybody was way down right under my feet, and I was above them. I was sitting on top of them. That's how the peyote affect me in my body. And I said, "I wonder why they sitting down there and me sitting up here?" And I look this way and my boy was sitting here and I said, "Look at these peoples sitting down there and I'm sitting up here. Here's your head right here and you're sitting way down there too. I wonder why?" He said, "Mama, you eat too much of that peyote." And you know, I close my eyes and when I look at my hand, I had a big peyote there, as big as my hand. It was just sitting there, I said, "Look son, look what I got. Look at this peyote." He said, "Mama, I don't see anything there." But everytime I look, there it is. It was great peyote with green and with real pretty designs on it. And somehow it said, "Go ahead, use this and you could just do anything you want with it. You could just doctor anybody you want and they going to be alright. Right now you could doctor that one." But he didn't name anybody out. Come into my mind like that. "Right now you could just go out there and do as you please with this peyote. You infected with it so strong you could just raise a sick-bed man or woman or child. You could raise a dead man." It just came into my mind like that.

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and in her most difficult doctoring situations and in all her most criticial moments, it is to the spirits of her teachers that she turns for aid. 115 159 756 787 755

The Supernatural Universe

Sanapia's description of the supernatural universe is full of contradictory elements. This is not as great an obstacle to action as it may seem since she addresses each element individually as the situation demands. She has no need to attempt to grasp the entirety of this universe at once. Sanapia is able to select from her potpourri of supernaturalistic notions the ones which best suit a particular occasion. 115 159 756 775

She believes that living human beings share the earth with the ghosts, or malevolent spirits of deceased humans who, alive, led evil lives. The ghosts can enter into the world of men, but men cannot enter the world of ghosts except through death. Also, somewhere, neither in the plane of living man nor in the plane of ghost existence, is the realm of pure, unembodied supernatural power. Such entities as the sun, the earth, and the eagle are able to tap this power and thus possess it to a greater extent than can mortal men. Power can be acquired by men only through secondhand channels and never from its source. A mortal would be killed if exposed to pure power. The power, from its original source, is inexhaustible. 115 159 756 778

In yet another plane of existence are found the spirits of good men such as the disciples of Jesus and the spirits of Sanapia's mother and uncle. This realm is not quite like heaven, which is the abode of God and Jesus and the eternal home of those ordinary souls who have nothing to offer the world of the living, as do the spirits of Medicine men or the disciples of Jesus. Hell is somewhere deep in the earth. Sanapia believes that it is the special eternal home of evil white men. Her notions of the nature of hell follow the standard Christian concept. 115 159 756 775 [776] [772] [777]

Peyote is similar to the sun or the eagle in its ability to embody an extraordinary degree of supernatural power. However, unlike the sun or the eagle, peyote comes from the Christian God as a sign of his love for all Indian people. According to Sanapia, the sun has existed longer then the Christian God, and is therefore entirely self-sufficient. 115 159 756 755 778 776

Thus Sanapia can become more or less Christian, peyotist, or Plains shaman as varying situations present themselves. By not assigning a negative value to contradictory elements in her supernaturalistic universe and by oversimplifying the similarities, Sanapia possesses a flexibility which confounds any attempt to present a very cogent description of her "religion." If a key pervasive theme had to be chosen, it probably would be concerned with the idea of supernatural power and the desirability of its acquisition and control. 115 159 756 771 [778]

A Successor

At the present time Sanapia is beginning to consider the problem of a successor, for she feels that her doctoring career is rapidly approaching its final 115 159 756 593

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115 hours. There does not seem to be a very rigid or fixed system for the selection
159 of a successor. A Medicine woman should transmit her powers to a favorite
756 daughter, and a Medicine man, to an eldest son. However, if the first choice does
593 not respond or does not demonstrate the required personal qualities, he is eliminated.

Sanapia's daughter has shown little interest in acquiring her mother's powers. Sanapia feels that this is because her daughter is "too much like a white man." Sanapia's youngest son has already tried and failed in his attempt to acquire his mother's power because Sanapia did not believe in his sincerity. Thus, he is permanently eliminated. Sanapia's next choice was her daughter's adolescent son, though Sanapia fears that the mother's influence will eventually rule him out as a potential successor.

During the final stages of my research with Sanapia, a new potential successor presented himself—Sanapia's eldest son. She had not even considered him in her search for a successor because of his aversion for all those things which are associated with traditionalist Comanche society. Recently, however, in his late forties, he has begun to take a greater interest in peyotism, for example, and in acquiring from his mother a more thorough command of the Comanche language. He also embodies all those personal traits which Sanapia feels a doctor should possess.

> You know that oldest boy of mine down at Lawton? He sure is a good one. He never say anthing out of the way about anybody. He's just so happy right now. And everytime I go down there, I see somebody at his house. He takes them in to help them along some. He gives them his last dollar. He sure likes to help people out. And he treats me real good too. Everybody seem to like him. I talk to him about my doctoring ways and he said that he would think about it and tell me later on sometime.

Sanapia can transmit her knowledge of medicines or actually dispense
115 medicines to anyone for a fee; however, the transmission of power, since it is
159 received as a gift, must be given as a gift. Once again, this follows from Sanapia's
756 feeling that power cannot actually be owned by an individual. A person may
● 778 acquire the knowledge required to manipulate power to a certain degree; however, this is the only sense in which he actually owns it. When a *puhakut* dies, the power he "possesses" does not die with him but once again becomes a free, unattached, and available agent to the next man or woman who has the ability to control or manipulate it. To Sanapia, man is subordinate to supernatural power. It would be illogical to her to conceive of a weaker agent controlling a stronger agent. Power can temporarily enter a mortal and become one with him, but it is still in the position of ultimate control. She cites the many tabus which a *puhakut* must observe, and mentions that there are no restrictions placed on the power.

She will state that power increases through time. A further probing of this notion reveals that what she means is that a *puhakut*, through time and experience, can become more efficient in manipulating power. Sanapia conceives of supernatural power as a static phenomenon. Once it is established, it does not decrease or increase of its own accord.

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The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism: 756 784 778

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue. 178 115 159 756 778 784 [262] [264]

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power. 115 159 756 178 784 115 159 756

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic. [753]

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and 115 159 157 571

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact. [164]

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756 someone must pour a ladle of water over each of his hands four times. The one
278 who pours the water over the hands of the one contaminated and who aids in
783 the cedaring may be any person present except, of course, a small child or a menstruating woman.

Sanapia forbids children near her medicines because she feels that such
756 close proximity could make a child sick, cause him bad luck, or possibly kill
278 him. She is not quite sure why the medicine could hurt a child, but she is sure
783 about another aspect of the danger which her medicines present to children. Her
858 special and unique power is ghost Medicine. She feels that ghosts therefore hate
756 her and are constantly attempting to harm her and those close to her. This means
278 that they are very likely near her most of the time, especially when she is work-
783 ing her Medicine against them or the results of their activity. Though they cannot
858 harm her or adults who have courage to resist them, they can harm children, who
775 are naturally weaker than adults in courage and Medicine.

With respect to her aversion to the presence of menstruating women while
756 she is doctoring or when her medicines are open, she can offer no specific rationale
278 except that these were the instructions she received from her mother. The only
783 possible explanation which she felt she could offer is that loss of blood means
841 weakness, and weakness makes an individual more susceptible to illness caused by supernatural or natural means.

Wallace and Hoebel (1952:158) write that among the Comanche all
756 medicine had to be protected against contamination by grease as well as the pres-
278 ence of menstruating women. It is interesting that Sanapia is not concerned about
783 the possible ill effects of grease near her medicines. In fact, when directly questioned
[841] about her reaction if her medicines actually came in contact with grease, she replied that she would simply wipe it off.

Nonbotanical Medicines

756 Approximately half of the contents of Sanapia's medicine kit is composed
755 of medicines of a nonbotanical nature.

Crow Feathers

Four tail feathers from a crow are tied at their base to form a loose bundle
756 and are hung near the door of a house as a protective amulet against ghosts.
755 Sanapia states that the power in the crow feathers is intrinsic to the feathers and
237 does not depend on her handling of them to give them this capacity. She always
775 utilizes this amulet when she doctors because of her belief that ghosts are especially
778 numerous when she begins to make Medicine against them. This amulet, therefore, aids her to dispel ghosts and acts to protect the house and its occupants from the evil designs of the angered ghosts.

Sanapia could offer no explanation as to why the ghost should fear these
778 feathers. A Kiowa informant, who uses crow feathers in much the same manner
237 as Sanapia, explained that ghosts sometimes appear at night as owls. The crow
775 and the owl are natural enemies. By using crow feathers in this manner, one is en-
171

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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237 775

You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost. 171 [325]

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. [753]

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. [237]

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. [177]

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Charcoal from a Peyote Drum

756 755 778 534 Before the drumhead is attached to the drum used in the ceremonies of the Native American Church, the drum body is filled approximately one-third full with water. Several small pieces of charcoal from any source immediately available are placed in the water, and the head is then attached. The charcoal and water play important parts in the morning rituals held at the close of Comanche peyote meetings. Both the water and the charcoal are considered blessed by their presence in the meeting and are thought to possess certain sacred qualities. Because of the power which Sanapia feels pervades the charcoal from the peyote drum, she considers this charcoal desirable as a medicine.

The charcoal from the drum is given to Sanapia after peyote meetings which have been held on her property. She uses these fragments in several ways. To contain the movement or spread of any kind of pain or to prohibit the spread of swelling caused by such conditions as snakebite or sprains, she encloses the afflicted area in a circle drawn on the patient's skin with this charcoal. Also, in doctoring a particularly difficult case, she sometimes rubs this charcoal on her palms to supplement her power.

White Otter Fur

756 755 237 854 [177] Sanapia learned the use of a type of fur, which she states comes from a white otter, as a medicine from a Shoshone woman during one of her visits to the Wind River Shoshone communities around Fort Washakie, Wyoming. This is specificically used to treat illnesses in infants, which are felt to be localized in the infant's head. Sanapia cuts a small square from this pelt and places it on live coals. As the smoke rises from this smoldering fur, she holds the infant over the coals and moves him through the rising smoke four times. This medicine smoke is believed to enter the infant's head, where it's curative qualities work their effects. An Arapaho-Comanche uncle of Sanapia states that weasel tails are also used in this manner by the Comanches.

Porcupine Quills

Porcupine quills are used in the treatment of children in much the same manner as white fur. Four of the quills are deposited on coals. The infant is then passed through the rising smoke four times. Sanapia states:

> Sometimes they say kids get lonesome . . . when they sick, they just lonesome. Those stickers are good for that. They have medicine to help little children when I use them.

Bone Medicine

756 755 237 Sanapia calls this medicine *piamupits*, which she translates as "big old giant." She also refers to it as *tsunhip*, a Comanche word for "bone." Wallace and Hoebel (1952:171) write concerning this medicine:

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The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamɜmpits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamupits* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

> It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

> I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825 778

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four

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756 fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia
755 prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all
237 evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains
825 that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her
778 Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

756 "Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat.
757 She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene;
[278] however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

756 The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a
755 dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted
278 by mixing it with water or tallow.

[386] The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

756 Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is ob-
755 tained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her
278 patient she is asking the earth to care for him.
782
823

> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

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824

Botanical Medicines: Collection, Preparation, and Dosage

Sanapia collects her botanical medicines from their natural habitat in the late fall and early winter. She feels that by this late date the rattlesnakes, of which she has a morbid fear, will be less numerous. More importantly, she feels that plants are not completely matured until immediately before their death at the first frost of fall.

> I don't know how you could get any medicines in the spring. Just full grown is when they any good. That's when I get it. Rattlesnakes be gone too. In the fall they be already to get. Go get them when its cool, now its no good because it's summer. Too hot and too many snakes around. Plants aren't good now anyway for medicine.

The root is the most important source of medicine on any plant, according to Sanapia. She seldom utilizes other parts of a plant, but it is noteworthy that when she does, the part she uses is in almost every instance the top of the plant.

[778] Sanapia feels that the two most important sources of power for a medicine plant are the earth and the sun. She uses this rationale to explain her use of only the extreme top of plants, the part nearest the sun, and the extremity most sur-
[778] rounded by earth, the root. Peyote and cedar are notable exceptions to this scheme.

[755]
[757]

Bottom, left to right: medicine cedar, sucking horn, bakumak. *Top, left to right: peyote, glass slivers,* bekwinatsu.

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However, these plants are believed to possess a high degree of power by their nature and are therefore not so dependent on the earth and the sun for power. 278 824

In the fall when Sanapia judges that the sun is growing weaker and is less able to give power to the medicine plants, she begins her medicine plant collection. She feels she is then obtaining the medicines at their peak of maturity. In the case of my investigation of Sanapia, her collecting time fell in late October and early November. The later the summer and fall, the more efficacious the medicine plants will be since they have been exposed to the sun for an added amount of time. [778] 278 824 821

For the most part the plants which Sanapia uses grow in sandy soil. She denies that medicine plants can be obtained from any other type of soil. *Basiwa:pi* is the word which Sanapia applies to this type of soil, and she translates the word as "sandy;" "sandy ground;" or "best ground." 278 824 823

Sanapia follows a fairly rigid field preparation of the medicine plants she collects. As soon as possible after extracting them from the earth, they are taken to the nearest body of flowing water, where they are cut into manipulatable sizes and washed. Upon returning to her house, she once again washes the medicines and then stores them in the storm cellar, suspending some from lines which traverse the cellar and placing the remainder in jars. The immersion in flowing water applies to roots or plant parts other than leaves or flowering bodies; 278 824

[137] [237]

Bottom: sweet sage. Left to right: mescal beans, chow feather amulet, charcoal from peyote drum, gray sage.

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to a spring near Sanapia's home, and Sanapia makes an effort in her collection of this plant to never totally deplete the planting made by her mother. 278 824

This *Iris* is very similar to a variety which is found in eastern Oklahoma, significantly in an area of high Creek Indian population density. The Comanches and the Creeks have had close ties since the late nineteenth century (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:304), and Sanapia remembers traveling with her mother to eastern Oklahoma to visit Creek acquaintances. It is possible that Sanapia's mother could have learned of the medicinal qualities of this plant from the Creeks and brought back a collection to her home in Comanche County. The peculiar characteristics of the variety of *Iris* which Sanapia uses as medicine could have resulted from natural modifications stimulated through time by this change in environment. 755 757 [177]

pɔbɔβi

"white sage" *Artemisia ludoviciana* (lobed cudweed; gray sage) [137]

Sanapia employs the leaves of the gray sage in treatment of insect and spider bites. She chews the leaves and rubs the resulting moist pulp over the area of bites to relieve itching and swelling. [752]

ɛsipɔbɔβi

"sweet smelling sage" *Poliomentha incana* (sweet sage) [137]

This medicine plant comes from the area of the Mescalero Apache reservation in southeastern New Mexico. It is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches who have ties with the Mescalero.

In a doctoring situation when Sanapia must apply her mouth to the afflicted area of the patient's body in an attempt to suck the sickness from the patient, she chews a small piece of sweet sage and retains it in her mouth with the masticated medicine which is being specifically employed at the time. She states that the sweet sage acts to sweeten the usually bitter taste which results from this type of procedure. Sweet sage, in certain circumstances, is also added to *bekwinatsu* (to be discussed) to increase its potency. It is also added to various medicinal "teas" to make them more palatable to the patients.

During Comanche peyote meetings held on Sanapia's property, it was pointed out that the leafy cushion upon which the Chief Peyote rested was made of sweet sage. The sweet sage used in the peyote meeting is particularly valued by Sanapia as a medicine since it gains an added potency through its contact with the Chief Peyote.

bekwinatsu

"swelling medicine" *Matelea biflora* or *cynanchoides* (recumbent milkweed) [137]

This is one of Sanapia's major medicines and one of the three plants which she attributes with some degree of intrinsic supernatural potential. The other two medicines so considered are peyote and cedar. [778]

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society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could 775
effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function 154
in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes 571
its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually 754
worked by *puhakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle 154
last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sick- 571
ness tomorrow. 756

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their 177
Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement 775
their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be 177
presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, 775
though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation 825
for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache inform- 778
ants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear 775
consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be 775
a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, 154
and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

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775 then unwraps her medicines and exposes them on the cloth in which they were
755 wrapped.

756 Both Sanapia and her patient smoke Bull Durham tobacco wrapped in corn
782 shucks as they wait for the sun to rise. Sanapia prays to the earth immediately
[276] before sunrise, and when the sun appears, she directs her prayers to it.

> In the morning, before the sun come up, you go out away from the house, where nobody can hear you and you pray. You touch the ground with your hands, four times, and say . . . I don't know where it came from, but you say, "Mother earth, I want you to take my words. I want you to do what I want. I'm walking over you. I live on you, and I love you because you're my land." Say things like that to it. That sun not up yet. But it's the big eagle . . . talk to it like it's eagle . . . think of it like that, you know. It's going to fly up pretty soon when the sun comes up, and that's the eagle going to do everything I want.

776 The sun and the earth were the two greatest sources of power in the
821 nomadic Comanche culture. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:190) write that ". . . only
823 the sun, moon, and earth were looked upon as semi-dieties." They were also personified and addressed in prayer. The earth was considered second only to the sun in supernatural importance by the Comanches; however, though they were active in the affairs of men, neither the sun nor the earth gave personal power (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:195–197). Also in the content of the pages just cited are numerous mentions of the earth being addressed as "mother" by the Comanches. Kardiner (1945:63), when discussing Comanche beliefs associated with magic and power, writes: "The greatest powers were the earth, and the sun, with which the eagle was felt to be associated."

775 When the sun appears over the horizon, Sanapia begins her prayers in
755 which she will ask "the eagle" to aid her in healing her patient. The patient,
756 seated beside her, is instructed to pray for his recovery and to put his faith and
782 trust in the powers of the earth and sun. She also indicates her medicines, exposed to the sun, and asks that it will fill them with power.

This period of prayer, first to the earth and then to the rising sun, lasts
[372] about half an hour, or until the sun has completely cleared the horizon. Sanapia then takes her patient back to her house, where her hubsnd or son have already prepared the pecan wood coals which Sanapia will need when she begins to doctor.
[824] Pecan coals are desired because they form long-burning, even coals. At this time
[237] she will attach her crow feather amulet to a beam on her front porch. She sometimes affixes several crow feathers to her patient's wrist.
[778]

As mentioned previously, in doctoring, Sanapia is alone with her patient.
775 If she is in a tent or tepee, she sits on the south side of the tent, which is custom-
755 arily facing east, and positions her patient directly in front of her. He lies on his
756 back with his head toward the west. The medicines she will use are placed to
[823] her right, and the pecan coals are placed in an iron kettle or shovel so their position can be changed as Sanapia doctors. When she is in a house, she attempts to duplicate these conditions as closely as possible.

After her patient is situated, Sanapia begins her attempt to mobilize her

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775 several in each hand and taps the patient's face. This is felt to transfer the positive
755 qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—to the patient's face.
756

Intercession of the Medicine Eagle

775 If the patient is still not improved after the peyote meeting, Sanapia will
755 move to her ultimate level of doctoring intensity by attempting to call her Medicine
756 eagle to her assistance through the intercession of the spirits of her mother and
787 maternal uncle. This step is not taken at the beginning of treatment because of
778 the dangers involved with the presence of so great an amount of supernatural power. It is possible that she might kill her patient by exposing him to this burst
[761] of supernatural energy. Also, Sanapia forestalls calling her ultimate powers into play because of her feeling that the physical reactions which this powerful presence produces in her will ultimately cause her death.

On the second day, if she has decided to follow this course of action, she refrains from her sunrise and midday doctoring. The patient spends the day resting and drinking great quantities of peyote and *bekucinatsu* "tea." Sanapia passes the daylight hours alone in some secluded area preparing herself for the traumatic activities in which she will be engaged after sunset.

> I set somewhere out there away from peoples . . . be by myself. I don't do nothing but sit and think about things. Like what my mother told me about things, and what my uncle told me. Think about all the years I come along and how up to today I'm still living. I don't do anything different from what I do if I am sitting anywhere by myself . . . just thinking about them things.

[515] Immediately before sunset Sanapia goes to the stream which flows near
[858] her house and washes her hands and face before returning to her house. Any small children or infants who happen to be members of the household at this time are taken to spend the night with relatives in a nearby town, so they need not be exposed to the potential dangers of the night's doctoring activities. Sanapia firmly instructs her patient that he must do whatever she requests of him during the coming night. If he reacts slowly to her commands, he could die. Once again, this instruction is given in recognition of the dangers of supernatural power.

775 The night's doctoring follows the basic pattern of the first two treatments
755 of the first day; however, this last treatment of the second day will continue
756 throughout the night and will contain the crucial element of Sanapia's singing of
778 her Medicine song. Sometime late in the night when Sanapia feels the proper
787 inspiration, she begins to sing her song. She will sing it over and over again until
533 the spirits she is calling come to her. The first singing of the song takes place with her patient as she fans him with her Medicine feather. She then leaves the house and continues her singing as she sits alone in the dark.

Sanapia first sees the spirits of her mother and uncle as two lights burning on the crest of a hill approximately a hundred yards south of her house. They slowly approach her. The rapidity of their approach corresponds to the intensity of Sanapia's singing, for it is her song which is drawing them to her. They

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finally stand before her, looking entirely natural and lifelike, much as they looked during Sanapia's adolescence. Sanapia continues her singing as they stand silently before her. In her song she tells them that she is alone and helpless and that she has no one to whom she can turn for help but them. She reminds them of their pledge of aid whenever she might need it during her lifetime. Sanapia may have to repeat her song for several hours as the spirits stand gazing down at her. Finally, with gestures of the hands they indicate that Sanapia will have what she wishes. 775 755 756 778 787 533

This means that the spirits of her mother and uncle have interceded with the Medicine eagle on her behalf. If the Medicine eagle is going to appear to Sanapia, it is at this time that he makes his appearance. Sanapia does not move after the spirits of her mother and uncle have left her. She ceases her Medicine song, but she remains to pray for a while longer before returning to her patient. Sanapia also must rest while her heart and breathing recover normalcy after the agitation they experienced during the apparition of the spirits.

She describes the appearance of the Medicine eagle in the following account: 775 755

> I was so tired then and I was crying too. Sitting there and seeing my mother like that. All at once I felt cold wind pushing me down. It was on my head and all around . . . flatten down the grass around me and I had to lean on my hands because it was heavy like I thought it might push me down right over my face. My blanker was blowing off me and I was grabbing for it . . . blowing my hair all over. Got scared and started shaking. Boy! that wind blow dust in my eyes and I was rubbing them when all at once everything got calm . . . like a dream like when you be sleeping way in the night. I saw that eagle . . . big, big, like an eagle . . . shining so pretty on its feathers. And I guess I was being silly because I start crying some more . . . just like some old woman. But I hear it in my mind, you know, say, "Go ahead, get him well. You can do it." Then I don't see nothing . . . I guess it's gone then.

756 778 787

Sanapia returns to her patient and attempts to utilize her newly acquired power increase to cure him. She uses only her Medicine feather and medicine smoke at this point. Most of her energy is aimed at instilling in her patient, through her prayers and contact with her feather, enough power to negate the malevolent forces which are acting to keep the patient from recovering. She does not come in physical contact with the patient at this time, for she feels that such contact would kill him.

If her patient has recovered during the night, she takes him outside with her before sunrise to make her morning prayers. She then blesses him in the standard manner and instructs him to wear the red paint for two days before he washes it off. This blessing on the morning of the third day after the initiation of doctoring marks the end of treatment. [782] [783]

Payments

The final payment is made within the succeeding weeks. Sanapia does not state a price but must accept whatever is offered her. She has received from 775 756 465

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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157 Ca-vo-yo, who was one of the first of the old chaps to become an individual to me, was such a friendly, kindly old fellow that it was hard for me to picture him riding into battle, screaming his war cry. But by the agency's record he must have been a successful and re-
[553] spected warrior for approximately twenty years. Had he not been a
[555] successful warrior, none would have sought him out to name their man-child and give of his medicine.

778 I have tried a number of times to write Ca-vo-yo's story as a
[114] giver of names, but the trouble always is that scarcely have you begun to write about the giving of a name, when you run into *Pa-haw-cut*, the Comanche name for medicine. And it is hard to tell a white audience about Comanche medicine, because the white man has nothing through which he can identify with the Comanche's feeling about it. I thought at one time of creating a straw man by combining an individual who by faith had a guardian angel with one who believed his destiny was directed by the stars and their positions, and then to this composite individual adding one who believed in luck—one who would not leave his home for the office of a morning without his good luck charm. Then I decided that the faith of even such an individual would still fall far short of a Comanche's faith in his medicine.

[555] When a Comanche warrior was bragging, to an audience gathered around a campfire, of some mighty coup he had brought about, he was not bragging of a personal exploit—he was telling about the
701 strength of his medicine. From the earliest war games he played as a boy, throughout his active adult life, he was constantly training himself to be ever a better warrior. It was his way of life. Also, he sought to perfect himself in the making of arms, both for war and for the hunt. Each warrior furnished his own arms. We have a written history, more or less, for the last 175 years of Comanche warfare, which shows that the Comanche possessed neither an armory nor a commissary.

492 Just as he had one set of arrows for war and another set of ar-
411 rows he used in the killing of the buffalo, so the Comanche had horses
224 trained for war and horses trained to carry him alongside the buffalo,
778 so he could loose an arrow into the rib cage of his huge quarry. But
726 it was his individual *Pa-haw-cut*, or medicine, that allowed him to
492 count coup early and often in the battle—that caused his horse to carry him at full speed into battle and to carry him away in a stra-
778 tegic retreat. The same medicine allowed his horse to place him beside
492
224

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

the stampeding buffalo without stepping into a grass-covered badger 778
or prairie-dog hole. 492
224

It was his medicine that enabled him to crawl into a cavalry biv- 778
ouac and sever the eight-foot rope that each soldier had tied to his 726
wrist, so his horse might graze safely during the night, and without waking the sleeper or his comrades lead the horse away.

It was his medicine that caused his wives to be friendly and con- 778
genial, one with the other. It resulted in the wives' caring for his [595]
camp, looking after his surplus horses, and bearing mostly boy babies. [842]
For none of these things did he take credit personally. But he was justly proud of his medicine that had brought all these things about, and he guarded it like a jealous lover.

To sum up the attributes of a name-giver: he needed a keen ear 553
and an extensive knowledge of the vocabulary—perhaps a sense of 778
humor helped—and he must have a successful reputation as a warrior- 701
hunter and a willingness to share his medicine. Custom required him [555]
to give each individual named a supply of his medicine. Warriors often refused to give a name because it meant parting with a portion of their medicine. They feared the remainder might prove inadequate. Apparently the true name-giver's supply had a similarity to the oil in the cruse and the meal in the barrel of the widow at Zarepath, while she fed the fugitive Elijah. It was replenished as used.

My reading indicates that the Comanche placed more emphasis [171]
or dependence on the name than did any of the other Plains tribes.
A warrior might carry a number of names, should he live a long and [551]
successful life. In the event a boy developed into a sickly youngster, or was accident-prone, his parents were apt to seek out one reputed to have even stronger medicine than the one who gave him the first name and ask for another name. Directly after puberty when a [881]
youth went alone to fast and pray for a vision, should his vision have [787]
particular significance, he would be given a name in keeping with the vision. But no Comanche dared name himself.

After his acceptance as a warrior, should he develop outstanding 553
characteristics in methods, strategy, or bravery, he might be given yet 701
another name, descriptive of his accomplishments. For example, there 551
was the Mexican captive Mo-cho-rook, about whom I tell in another chapter. Raised and trained as a Comanche warrior, he was given this name because "he so cruel, he makes Comanche blood run cold." He became a legend while yet he lived.

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ40
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12

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PETOTE ELEMENTS DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																			
	Ut	Wi	Sh	Ow	Ch	Ar	Ha	Pa	Wa	Ok	Lo	Ko	Ma	Ne	Ho	Ar	Ta	Ma	Ch	Ut
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	°+	°+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	°+	–		(–)		°–		°–	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+			
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
96. In open			°–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	°–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+		–	–	+	°+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	°+	–		+	+	+		–	°–	°–	–	+	+	+	–			
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)°	–	(–)	+	°–	°–	–	°–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–	–	°–	°–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	°+	+		°(–)		–		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	°+		+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	°+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+		–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)		–	–	+	°+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+					
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	°+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–	°+	°+	+	+	+	°–	°+	+	+	–				